

THE

Layman's Sermon.

Occasioned by the Present

REBELLION;

Which was (or ought to have been)

PREACH'D AT

St. PAUL's CROSS,

ON

The 1st of October, 1745.

Hoc Itbacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ.

Virg.

Ut de Republicâ quisque mereatur.

Cic.

D U B L I N.

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Friends and Countrymen,

WHEN I look round this numerous Auditory, which the Novelty of a Discourse from this Place has drawn together, and consider that this Assembly, composed of different Ages and Conditions, and perhaps of every Party, Sect, and Religion among us, are all united together in one common Relation, *Englishmen and Fellow-Citizens*: and when I say it is in this respect, that what I am going to offer most materially concerns them *All*, I persuade myself that I shall have no further occasion to bespeak their Attention.

It was from this Place the great and good *Wickliff*, unawed by the Frowns of Power, and Fury of Persecution, first laid the Foundations of: that Reformed Religion, which We and our Ancestors have for so many Ages profest and defended, and from which the Glory, Happiness, and the Civil Liberty of this Nation are derived. Would to God the same *honest Zeal*, the same *Spirit of Firmness* and *Unanimity* may be exerted in the Defence of those invaluable Blessings now, as in the times of our Forefathers were exerted to procure them. But I know not why it is, that the long and quiet Enjoyment of our Civil and Religious Liberties, the Sources of all publick and private Felicities, has so worn away the Sense of them, that too many of us seem almost to stand in need of a Loss of them, to understand their Importance, and induce us to do what the Possession of them will not.

We are now invaded by a *Popish Pretender* to the Throne of these Realms, who, by the Treachery of *some*, the Cowardice of *others*, and the Inability of *many* to resist, is in Possession of the Capital City of *Scotland*, has defeated a Part of the

King's Forces, and now threatens to carty his Arms into this Kingdom. What his Designs are, all know; what the Consequence will be of Success in those Designs, one would imagine it impossible for an *Englishman* or a *Protestant* to think on without the utmost Horror and Indignation. Even the antecedent Steps to that Success must be the Ruin and Desolation of a great Part of this Nation, the Blood of Thousands, the suspension of our War against *France*, and of every Branch of Trade, the Extinction of publick Credit, and the Hazard (at least) of every private Blessing. On whom must this Success depend? but on a *foreign Force* of those, who in all Ages, and upon all Occasions, have shewn themselves to be the inveterate Enemies of our Country, and our Religion: a *Seet* whom no Bonds of publick Faith can restrain, who can dispense with the Practice of every Christian Virtue, when they won't serve their Turn, and make Deceit, Perjury, Rebellion, Murder and Treason meritorious; and a *Banditti* above the Correction of any Laws, Civil or Military, whom the Fire of superstitious Zeal, the Lust of Plunder, and the all-daring Force of Poverty and Despair have united.

When such important Subjects are made necessary for our Consideration, I thought it might not be improper to take up the ancient Custom of speaking to you from this Place; because no Arts have been wanting, even at this time, to paint this Invader and his Enterprize in false Colours, and thereby either to raise Discontent against the present Government, or at least to cool the Zeal of Protestants in its Defence, and lay them asleep in a fatal Inaction and Security. It shall therefore be my Business to lay before you in as plain a manner as I can
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the inevitable Consequences which must attend the Success of this daring Enterprize, and to point out to you, as far as it is in the Power of every private *Englishman*, the Methods necessary to preserve our Religion and Liberties from this impending Ruin.

I believe I may take it for granted, that a great Majority of the Protestants of this Kingdom are already firmly persuaded of the Truth of what I am going to prove, that the Success of this Invader cannot but end in the utter Ruin of our *Liberties*, Civil and Religious, and of the *Power* and *Independence* of this Nation: that these are so necessarily connected, that what destroys the one, must extinguish the others, and consequently would sacrifice their Lives in the Defence of the present *established Constitution*.

The Consequence of this must be, that the present Invader can never mount the Throne of this Kingdom without some Force superior to that Majority; nor can sit firmly in his Throne without the Continuance of such Force: That our Civil and Religious Liberties are worth preserving, even at the Expence of our Lives, no-body can doubt. Those, therefore, whose Employment it is to go about to corrupt the Allegiance, or slacken the Zeal of Protestants in the Defence of their Country, upon the present Occasion, have recourse to other Arguments, and endeavour to insinuate into the Minds of a *de-luded* People, that this Change cannot materially concern them, because the Protestant Religion will be protected, and the Civil Liberties of this Nation religiously preserved by this Pretender when he comes to the Possession of the Throne; that the Constitution of this Country will be improved, and the Trade, Glory and Power of it increased: That the Blessings *we shall* enjoy under his Reign will be more,

and the Grievances *we shall* suffer less than what we find under the present Establishment. These, I say, are the Arts that have been formerly used, and are now revived to keep a Spirit of Division and Disaffection among us; and we may be assured, that neither *Popish Emissaries*, nor *Protestant Jacobites* will be wanting in their Zeal in this Cause, upon this their *last* great Effort. May they meet with the Reception which they deserve, and, which we and our Ancestors have always given them! But as it is necessary to defeat their Designs, that Protestants of all Denominations, that all True *Britons* in every Station, should unite their Endeavours upon this Occasion; I shall attempt to prove, that neither the Civil nor Religious Liberties of this Kingdom *can* be safe, nor the Trade, Glory, or Independence of it, be preserved under the Reign of this Invader, if he places himself upon the Throne by the Means he *must* for that Purpose use upon this occasion; and That, although he should prove to be the wisest of Princes, and the best of Men that ever wore a Crown. And to bring this more home to every private *Englishman*, I shall at present lay out of the Question the Obligation we lie under from our *Oaths*, and the *personal Regard* we ought to have for his Present Majesty, and shall only consider how far every one of us, in point of *Interest* and for the good of ourselves, and our Posterities, are bound to protect the present established Government of this Nation: And this cannot more briefly, or effectually be done than by showing, that neither the Rules of good Policy will induce, nor the Principles, of Gratitude, Honour, or Honesty, oblige the Pretender to protect us Protestants, either in the Enjoyment of our *Civil or Religious Liberties*: And that the Means by which he must mount the Throne,

Throne, and secure to himself the Enjoyment of it, will *necessarily* destroy the Trade and Independence of this Nation. And if I prove this, I think I may fairly conclude, that he will not do the one, and cannot accomplish the other.

To consider, 1st, the Rules of good Policy.—
That the Title by which he must come to this Throne, must either be by Conquest, or by Hereditary Right, Indefeasable by any Forfeiture, independent of and antecedent to the Consent of the People, or by a Mixture of both together, cannot be denied; and that those who are not forced into his Obedience, but either voluntarily surrender themselves to his Mercy, or become his Subjects upon pretence of Principle and Conscience, must acknowledge one or the other of these Titles, is equally evident. For if the Consent of the Majority of any Nation, nay more, if the Allegiance of a Majority acknowledged and confirmed by a voluntary Oath, if Hereditary Right established by Act of Parliament and subject to Forfeiture, if being born his Subjects, if a Prince by open Hostility against the Religion and Laws of his Country, can give the People a Right to dethrone him, and to choose another, and by necessary Consequence to establish a new Succession by their Laws, nay more, if *People* have *any Liberties* which they have a Right to defend against their *Prince*, and are not by some Law human or divine, his *absolute Property*, His Majesty King George has the most undoubted Title to *his Crown* of any Prince upon Earth. Now if, as I said before, Conquest or hereditary indefeasable Right, or both together, can be the only *possible Title* the Pretender can set up; then to establish *this Title*, and to possess his Throne under *this Right*, must be the great End to which, according to the Rules of good Policy, his Labours ought to be directed.

rected. But if *He* gains the Possession of the Throne by subduing the Majority of the Protestant Subjects (as I have shewn he must) will the Rules of good Policy oblige him to quit his *indefeatable Title* for any other? To admit *Rights in the People* utterly inconsistent with *that Title*; To submit to Laws and a Constitution upon which his Right to govern does not depend; a Constitution which could not protect its Sovereign in the Enjoyment of his Throne? If his *present Majesty* governing according to the Constitution, and protected by no other Powers than what the Constitution of this Country gives him, could not maintain himself against the open Violence either of his foreign Enemies or rebellious Subjects, what Dependance is to be had upon them by a Prince who will have it in his Power to secure himself against a *Revolution* by more effectual Supports? If we should suppose him naturally inclined to disband his Forces and to protect his Subjects in their Liberties, and the Protestants in their Religion, and govern by their Assistance, can he possibly, consistent with any Rules of good Policy, *venture* to do it? Must he not in so doing, disoblige a rapacious and triumphant Army, by whose Assistance he will have been placed on his Throne, whose Arms will have reduced the Majority of those Protestant Subjects? Will not the *Roman Catholicks* have all the Reason that can induce a Prince of their own Persuasion, I might add a Man of common Gratitude, to establish their Religion if it is in his Power to do it? and can he possibly come to the Throne *now* by subduing the Majority of Protestants (*the Friends of his Majesty*) without having it in his Power? The *loyal Protestant Subjects* of his present Majesty subdued, will the *Protestant Jacobites* have Power to oblige him, or Interest enough against the Dictates
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of his Conscience, and the united Endeavours of a Popish Army, and a Popish Priesthood, to persuade him to do all this? That a *Popish Prince* will be desirous to establish *Popery* if he can; that a *Prince* with an *Indefeasible Hereditary Right*, and a Right by *Conquest too*, will rather choose to establish that Power which such a Right gives him over his Subjects than any other, not only the History of the World, but common Sense, must put beyond all doubt: If so, what should prevent his doing it, when the Power will necessarily be in his hands? That he may always in such a Situation, either by calling in *the foreign Force*, whose Interests are inseparably connected with his, and who are inclined to assist *Him*, not *England*, or by keeping up a Standing Army of *Scots* and *Papists* at home, secure himself in the quiet Enjoyment of such a Power, his having *gained it* at first will be a *Demonstration*. That he will not be obliged for his Crown to the Majority of his Protestant Subjects, whatever he may be to a few Protestant Friends, will be as evident. Will he then to oblige a few Protestant Friends be bound by any Rules of good Policy to render his Possession of the Throne precarious, govern by Laws which could not protect themselves against him, and be guilty at the same Time of the highest Ingratitude to his Protectors, to those who will, at the Peril of their Lives and Fortunes, have set him on the Throne?—Has he not lived in Exile so long by the *United Endeavours* of Protestants against him? Must he not then from Interest, as well as from the Principles of his Religion, abhor them? Will the *Body of Protestants* now call him to the Throne? or what will they, upon this occasion, have done to take off that Hatred, and give them a Preference in his Esteem to all his other Friends and Allies? He never
can

can, nor will, upon this, or any other Occasion mount the Throne by their Assistance, or govern with their Consent, considered as *a Body*. He has lived with Papists, has been all along supported by Papists, and the Majority of those who restore him (whether we suppose him to come in by foreign or domestic Force) must be Papists. To whom then would he *wish* to give his Favours and Rewards; upon whose Power and Affection would he *chuse* to depend? If therefore he must upon this occasion come in by a Right above Law, and without any *mutual Compact*; can any Rules of good Policy oblige him to submit to Laws *without Occasion*, to lessen that Power and give up that Right he fights for *without Force*, To weaken the Establishment he will have gained by his Arms and render that Title precarious after Success, which before Success he must rely on *without Necessity*? When he insists as a Foundation for his Claim, that Subjects have no Right to resist, are bound to Passive Obedience by their Condition, and when he has reduced them to a State wherein they must be obliged to maintain that Doctrine *in Practice* as well as *in Theory*, can he, consistent with any Rules of good Policy, be induced not to keep them in that State? Or can a *Protestant Jacobite*, with any Colour of Justice or Reason, reproach him if he should?

But perhaps he will be moved to do all this, not by the strict *Rules of Policy* as a Statesman, but from a *natural Regard* to the Constitution of this Country, a Desire to promote the Liberty and Happiness of his People, and the innate Goodness of his Heart.

But what can he call the Constitution of his Country? *That Security* which we have gained by the Revolution, *That* which his Ancestors (if they were his) opposed, or *That* which they wished to establish-

establish? From whence can his Love of the Liberty of Subjects be derived? Liberties totally inconsistent with his very Title, and which he can never so much as have heard of. And can we be so sottish to be persuaded that he ever can be brought to think that the Happiness of his People will be promoted by any other Measures than those which tend to secure him most effectually in the Enjoyment of his Throne, which will attach to him the Love and Esteem of all those by whose Assistance he mounts it, and put him out of the Fear of those he cannot but hate and mistrust? What those will and must be, how agreeable to the *English Constitution*, and how favourable to the Power and Interest of *Protestants and Subjects*, I have already shewn.

Let us suppose, notwithstanding all these Bars against it, he might be induced to do nothing in *Prejudice* to our *Constitution*, or to *advance* the Interests of *Papists*; can we expect he will enact Laws *against them*, or weaken his *own Constitutional Power*? But what Security would this be to us? What must *He* call *the Constitution of England*, but *that* which it was *before the Revolution*? Must not then all the Laws since made to restrain the Prerogative; to preserve the Independency of Parliaments; all the Laws now in force against Persons professing the Popish Religion, with regard to their *Property*, or which ever since the *Revolution* have been put in Practice, at once fall to the Ground? Must not the dispensing Power of the Crown, and many other Doubts and Difficulties which attended the *unsettled State* of our *Constitution* before that Period, be again revived? And can we think Advantage will not be taken of all these Uncertainties, to fix this Power upon *a Basis* independant and indefeasable as his *Title*.

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But the Goodness of his Heart, the Sincerity of his Intentions, or his *Conscience*, will induce him to do what *Policy*, *his Religion*, *his Title*, and *his own* separate Interest forbid. Can we think that a Prince educated in such Courts, and in such Principles of Religion as he has been, will look upon *arbitrary Power* as a Power against *Conscience*?

If we suppose him a good Man, must he not be a grateful Man? Does he, or will he lie under any Obligations (if he succeeds in this Enterprize) of Gratitude to the *Body of Protestants*? Will he not lie under the strongest Obligations of *Gratitude* to the Pope, and to the *Body of Papists* in general? If he brings in a *foreign Force*, must they not be *Papists*? and will not such *foreign Force* be actuated more by a *Zeal* for their *Religion*, than a *Love* of *this Country*? Must he not then to engage such *foreign Assistance*, have entered into Agreements as inconsistent with the *Religion* as with the *secular Interests* of *Great Britain*? Inconsistent with a *Toleration* of the Protestant Religion, much more with a *voluntary Re-establishment* of it: As an honest Man, must he not perform any of the solemn Contracts he must make; nay more, must already have made with *France* and *Spain*? Should he promise the contrary, would not such Promise carry so much Insincerity and Disingenuity along with it, as to be itself an Evidence it would not be performed? He may, perhaps, tolerate his *Protestant Friends* in the Practice of *their Religion*; but 'tis a strange Absurdity, an Affront to Common Sense to tell us, he will think himself obliged to do *more*, or that he will either have Power or Inclination to do it: Tho' no body can doubt, as I said before, his having Power to refuse it. Will his *Scotch Banditti*, his *Popish Allies*, or his Handful of *Protestant Friends* return to their Allegiance, and drive him
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by force from the Throne, if he should refuse to do, what nothing but *Fear* of superior Force can induce him to do? In short, as an *honest Man*, can he use his Power *more honestly* than in advancing *those Interests*, which, by the strictest Ties of Honour and Gratitude, he is bound to pursue, in establishing *that Religion* he believes the *only true one*, in obliging by *Methods* in his Power, and which his *Principles* not only *justify*, but approve, his Protestant Subjects to renounce *their Errors* and be saved, in fixing *that System of Government* which his own Safety requires, and which his Heart approves. As an honest Man, is he not bound to discharge the long Arrears of Debts contracted for the Maintenance of himself and his family in *France, Spain, and Rome*, and perform his Engagements to those who have spilt their Blood, and wasted their Treasures in his Service? *Strange Infatuation!* we are persuaded to depend upon *those Virtues* for his doing what without a *Breach* of every one of them he cannot, he ought not to do. *With* such Virtues he cannot do what his *Protestant Friends* expect; *without* such Virtues he certainly will not.

Could *this Pretender* be established in this Kingdom by some *immediate Change* in this whole Nation; Did he come to the Throne by regular Descent; or was he invited to it by the *unanimous Assent* of a *British Protestant People in Parliament*; Was he disengaged from all *foreign Alliances and Attachments* whatsoever, and bound by *no Compacts* but those made between him and his People antecedent to his *Accession*, there might be a *Possibility* of his doing what his fond credulous *Protestant Dependents* are told he will do. What *Probability* there would be of his doing it *then*, let *Experience* teach us. But how widely different is the Case now, he can succeed, but by Force of Arms, lie under

der no Obligations to the *Body of Protestants*, but must make his way to our Throne thro' a *Sea of their Blood*, and by the Miseries of a Civil War; must fix himself in it with uncontrivable Power, and have no other reasonable Views but to establish himself beyond the Possibility of a Change. How this must be effected, I leave every one to judge from what I have said.

But perhaps I shall be told, he will not only restore to us our *Civil and Religious Liberties* (which without him were in no Danger of being lost) but will redress *All our Grievances*, take off all, or most of our *Taxes*, annihilate our *National Debts*, and do, in short, every thing the most sanguine would wish him to do to make us a happy and a flourishing People. But let us consider what the Sum of all these specious Promises amount to: Can we expect a victorious Prince, just mounted on his Throne, will content himself with *less* Power than his Predecessor had? Would such a Prince, with such a Title, and supported by such Friends, as I have spoke of before, do any thing to *lessen the Power* of the Crown over the Subject, and make the Balance between King and People hang as *they* would have it? Nay more, is there a *Friend*, a real Friend of his, that would not point out to him the *fatal Lenity* of the present Government, that would not advise him to keep the Reins of Power in his own Hands, and not indulge with too much *Liberty* a People whom he had subdued, a *restless, fickle, and divided People*? If this cannot be expected, what are the Grievances we should have redress? Do we not enjoy a Constitution, envied by all the World? Has his *present Majesty* (in his *long Reign*) or his Father, since their Accession to the Throne, done any one Act of *Violence, Cruelty or Oppression*? extended the Prerogative in any *one Instance*? Is

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there a *single Subject* that has suffered what the Laws of his Country do not inflict? Has the *Property* or *Liberty* of any one of us been arbitrarily or unjustly invaded? Was ever Justice more ably or more impartially administered? And can all this be affirmed of almost *any one* of their Predecessors? Has he not directed his *Arms*, and exposed his own *Crown* upon this very Occasion, for the Cause of *Liberty*, and in Obedience to the *Voice* of his People? Let every *Englishman* then judge of him by what they *see*, and by what they *understand*, not by what they are *told*. Let us seriously examine what we *want*, and what we *enjoy*, and we shall find every thing that is valuable to us *as Men* and *as Christians* in one *Scale*, *Imaginary Plans* of Reformation, *Intricacies of State* which we don't understand, *visionary Prospects* of future Dangers, and all the *Romantick Schemes* which the *Wantonness of Liberty* suggests in the *other*. *The Tools* which factious Men have in all Ages of publick *Liberty* and *Happiness* made use of to raise *Sedition* and advance themselves into *Power*. *Men* who serve the Government as the Farmer in the Fable did *Jupiter*, instead of being grateful for the Plenty they enjoy, they are perpetually murmuring at the *Weather* he dispenses. Tho' were they to have the Management of it in their Hands, they would soon desire him to take *the Weather* again into his *own*.

But the *National Debts* are to be *annihilated* (not *paid off*, for I presume the Pretender will not have quite *Cash* enough to do that) and the *Taxes* are to be lessened. It is surprising such Things should be seriously mentioned to any-body: That our *National Debt* will be discharged, *the Pretender* may very fairly engage; for long before he can get Possession of the Throne, it will have *discharged* itself. *Publick Credit*, the Life of Trade, the Riches of
Thou-

Thousands of his Majesty's Subjects, must be *de-
stroyed*. During the Interval of our Troubles, these
Blessings will happen. All *Trade* must be suspend-
ed, all *Paper Credit* perish, and the whole *Riches*
of this Nation sink, and be reduced to nothing but
mere Specie. At present we have *the Cash* of al-
most half the World at our Command; we trade
with *Millions* not our own: But, good God, what
a Scene of *Beggary, Bankrupcy and Ruin* must
precede this glorious Event, *The Ruin of our publick
Faith!*—— And can any Man be so weak as to be
persuaded, that when the *Debts* of the Nation are
thus annihilated by the *Bankrupcy* of it, and the
whole Property of the Nation, and of Individuals
thus reduced to mere *Bullion* (for so it seems we are
promised it shall be, and so indeed it must be by
a Civil War, ending with the Dissolution of this
Government) that we shall be a *richer, happier
People* than we are *now*? The Coin of this Nation
is at present scarce sufficient for the common Cir-
culation; but when that is our All, who will be
able or willing to lend the next Government any
thing? That *new Publick Debts* must be contract-
ed for Payment of Armies and Fleets, and for ma-
ny other Expences of Government, cannot be de-
nied: *Many* of the present *Funds* from *Customs,
Duties and Imports* will be extinct; and then on
what must the Fund necessary to raise these Mo-
nies, and the Taxes for the Support of a Govern-
ment and Army necessarily fall, but on the Proprie-
tors of Land, and the very *Vitals* of the People?
With whom must our new Debts be contracted?
not with the *Inhabitants*, they will have very little
to spare; not with those we have so lately deceived
and ruined, our present Allies: In short we shall be
a Nation with whom no-body will have any Com-
munication, no-body will trust, but those whose
Interest

Interest it is to oppress us; and this glorious Advantage will end in lessening indeed our Debt (for God knows we never shall have Credit to raise one fifth of such a Debt again, nor Funds necessary to support it) and in transferring it from ourselves, from the *Merchant* and *Subject*, to *France*, to *Spain*, and to *Rome*. And without Trade, without domestick National Credit, *ten Millions* will be more to us than *fifty* now. What I have said of Debts every body's private Judgment will apply to Taxes too; and that Taxes must be imposed, to answer the necessary Expences of Government, the Greediness of new Governors, to pay Armies, Debts and Subsidies to *France*, *Spain* and *Rome*, is beyond a Doubt: To which I may add the Necessity of such a Government, so introduced and maintained, to strengthen its own Hands, by providing a *Fund* for its Defence, and by draining the Pockets of the People. In short, *Publick Exigence* cannot be less, *Private Poverty* must be greater. The Nature of this Discourse will not permit me to dwell longer on this Part of the Subject, and enter more minutely into the *Intricacies* of *Political Arithmetick*: I hope I have said enough to set this Matter in a true Light, and to furnish *Hints* for every body's private Reflections to improve upon.

I have hitherto confined myself to the *Domestick Consequences* of this Invasion: But if we cast our Eyes abroad, *the Scene* will appear still more gloomy. We are at present, it must be allowed, the great *Bulwark* of the *Protestant Religion* in *Europe*, the great *Asylum* from the *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical Tyranny* that prevails over much too great a part of the World: 'Tis hither *Protestants*, *Jews*, *all Sects* and *all Religions* come to enjoy the Fruits of their Labours, and taste the Sweetness of those Riches they have saved from the *Jealousy* of *Arbitrary Govern-*

ments, and under the Terrors of *an Inquisition*. We are the *great Rivals* to the Trade and Naval Power of *France* and *Spain*. That this is their Quarrel with his present Majesty; that they have, and will, to the utmost of their Power, assist this Pretender to his Crown, we all know: But can we believe that they will do this from a Principle of Generosity and Love of our Country and Religion? Does the Court of *France* think that the *Reign* of this Pretender will be attended with these happy Consequences to *Great Britain*, which his *Friends* here would persuade us it will? Do these *Political Courts* foresee the *Glories* of his *Administration*, and the Happiness of *England* under it? Can we believe these *Savage hereditary Enemies* to our Country have all at once taken up a Desire of making us *Great and Happy*? Have they any other *Reason* for endeavouring the Destruction of his *Majesty and his Family*, but because he will not be their *Slave*; because he has hazarded, and will hazard, his Life and Crown in Defence of the *Liberties of Europe*, and to curb their *Ambition*? Because he professes a *Religion* they would *extirpate*, acts upon Principles destructive of their Interest, commands a Nation, whose Naval Force they are not able to resist? But in doing this, does he not act like an *Englishman*? Does he not tread in the Steps of all those his Predecessors, whose Memories we hold most dear? Do not all the *Protestant Powers* in *Europe* consider him in this Light? Should therefore *this Invader* succeed, whose Alliance must he court to protect him against the *Friends and Allies* of our present *Religion and Government*? Will the other *Protestant Powers* treat him as their Friend? Will he, without any Reason upon Earth to induce him, quit those *Allies* by whose Influence he has been protected, and by whose Riches supplied, and by whose Power, when once

once seated on this Throne, he may absolutely *fix* himself there *for ever*? What the Consequence of such Alliances will be, upon what Conditions they must be contracted, and what must be sacrificed to procure them, I need not mispend your Time in pointing out to you. Let us consider what must happen while this *great Change is bringing about*: Can the Friends of the Pretender think his present Majesty will be beat out of these Kingdoms in *an Instant*, be deserted by his *Friends at home*, and his *Allies abroad, at once*; that his Generals and his Armies will betray his Cause; and the *Brave Admirals*, who command his Fleet, tamely desert him? No; we have not a *James the Second* upon the Throne; he is not to be *frighted* out of this *Kingdom* by the *Consciousness* of his own bad Designs, nor do his *Friends and Soldiers* fight in a *Cause* which they must *abhor*. A *Revolution* against the Sense of the *Majority of Protestants and Englishmen*, is not to be effected as it was before; it must take up much Time, and cost much Blood to do it. To go further, must not *this Invader*, before he can sit in Safety on his Throne, subdue the *Fleet* and make himself Master of the *Naval Power* of this Kingdom? *Even* if Part of our Fleet should come in to him, must not the Assistance of *France and Spain* be called in to subdue the other? And would all the Good the best Prince that ever governed a Nation could do for *Great Britain* compensate such a *Loss*? Would not *France and Spain* spend the last Drop of their Blood *to effect*, what this Invader must *necessarily effect* for them? And will they not, during this fatal Interval, while our Crown is in Suspense, act like Enemies, plunder our Colonies, and ruin our Trade without Controul, regain their conquered Towns and Provinces, destroy our *unsupplied and distracted Navy*, and pour

in what Armies they think proper upon our Coasts; and all this under *Colour* of *Friendship* to our *future King*? And do we think he will ever have Interest enough with them to restore all these Blessings to us again? Will they make him their *Equal* when they can make him their *Slave*? Will they set up a *Rival* here when they can set up a *Dependant*? Will they put us in a Condition to regain what it will be in their Power for ever to secure from us? or suffer us ever again to be in a Condition to disappoint that great End which has already cost them so many *Millions*, and for which they and their Forefathers have spilt so much Blood? In short, let the *Enemies* to our *Faith*, the *Rivals* to the Glory, Riches and Trade of *this Nation* tell us, *what Prince ought to sway, not what Prince shall sway, the British Sceptre.*

When this View of the Case is laid before us, *an English Protestant* surely cannot hesitate a Moment in his Choice; *an English Papist*, who is not an Enthusiast in Religion, who has any Gratitude for the Lenity with which he has been treated under the present Government, who has any Concern in the Glory and Prosperity of *Great Britain*, or any Degree of *Patriotism* for the secular Interest of his native Country, and can be content with the Exercise of his Religion without the Pride and the Pomp of it, will be glad, *at least* to resign his Sword to the Civil Magistrate, and embrace, with Joy, *that Neutrality* which the Laws and Constitution of his Country indulge him in.

If these are the *National Consequences* which will inevitably attend the Success of this Invader's Enterprize, how far every *Individual*, from the highest to the lowest, is interested to oppose it, I need not spend your Time in endeavouring to evince. *National Prosperity* is the Concern of All, from the lowest Mechanick or Labourer to the Prince;

Prince; the former, indeed, if they have no Property, are sure to gain *nothing* by the Change; but they have *much* to lose; the Decay of foreign Trade, the Suspension of Handicrafts, and the Ruin of their Superiors will be *first* felt by them: Besides, that they are in Danger of losing two Things which constitute the greatest Part of their honest Enjoyments, and for which their *Ancestors* have never yet refused to lay down their Lives, *their Liberty and their Religion*: To which let me add, That *inward Satisfaction, that honest Pride* which every true *Englishman* feels in the Glory, Honour, and Prosperity of *Great Britain*.

I have too long detained you upon the former Part of what I proposed to speak to, the fatal Consequences of this *Rebellion*: I say too long, because I am satisfied few stand in need of having them pointed out. But if I have gained one Convert out of those whom *Disaffection* to the Government, the *Artifices* of designing Men, or any *Prejudices* in favour of *this Invader*, had either induced to think favourably of his Cause, or even to be unconcerned Spectators of this prodigious Ruin, I shall not think my Time ill employed.

It remains only very shortly to mention the means, which as *private Englishmen* it is our Duty to use, to put a Period to this impending Mischief. In this *Scene* every one of us has a *Part*, the rich and poor, young and old, may all, in their several Stations, do their Country Service. A *Spirit of Unanimity* All can show.—But that will not do the Business; there must be *Zeal* added to it; we must All be resolute to defend what All agree to be so defensible. Let not the *Artifices* of our *Foes* propagate *Fears* among us on the one Hand, nor *Security* on the other. Those who are able, ought chearfully to contribute to the Defence of the Whole;

Whole; those who are able ought to serve, not this or that Place but, *their King and their Country*. It can neither be expected nor desired of those who are poor, that they should leave their Families, and hazard their Lives, without a reasonable Reward for their Service. But they ought to consider, that the sooner they offer to serve their Country, the less will be their *Danger*, the less their *Loss*. For if *this Invader* was to make a further Progress, I have shown what will be the Consequences to their Trade and Families; they will then be obliged to run greater Hazard, thro' Necessity, than they will now do from a much nobler Principle, the Defence of *their King and Country*. Having Wives and Children in this Cause, is so far from being an *Excuse* from Service, that it is an *additional Motive* to serve. Better far suspend their *Trades* for a small Time voluntarily, and for a Reward which will provide for their Families while they do, that they may return to them again with the greatest Comfort an *Englishman* can have, the Consciousness of having deserved well of his Country, and enjoy *it* in Peace, than be drove into this Service by Necessity, be exposed to greater Dangers, and have their *Lives, Liberties and Religion* depend on the *Chance of War*. We may now awe and disappoint our Enemies more effectually by the *Authority* of our Arms, than hereafter by the *Use* of them.

The *Spirit* already shown throughout the Kingdom, in particular *Counties and Cities*, to defend themselves, is highly laudable, will animate our Friends, discourage our Enemies, and keep the disaffected quiet: But if carried to Excess; if it takes off from *the Supply* of the Whole, the *Vitals* will perish; while we are taking Care of the *Limbs*. *Those Bodies* thus raised can be of no Use but to provide against intestine Commotions, and be ready as

a Supply to join the great Army of the Nation; in any other Light they are absolutely useless; since the Force of no one County can defend itself against an Army victorious over our *united Force*. *That* conquered, *they* fall of course; but a small Detachment from each of these Bodies collected together, will make a very formidable Force.—'Tis *the whole* that is invaded, and *the whole* that must be defended. None therefore, or few, ought to be enlisted into the Service of particular Counties, that are not willing to serve his Majesty, when and where their Service is required. We ought to meet the Enemy in the Gate, and overpower them with Numbers; *the Danger* to Individuals will be least at first, as the *Damage* will be to the whole. Those who are inclined to fight for their Country ought to do it *now*; if it was from no other Principle than to avoid those Dangers which Delay will occasion. I doubt we are but too apt to say to ourselves, “ *If they come nearer I will enter the* “ *Lists*” But he who will not act or contribute for the Defence of his Country *now*, deceives himself, and the Government too, and runs a *Risk* of losing those Blessings he would stand up for without Reason. If it is right to fight for, or contribute towards the Defence of our Country at any time, it is right at *first*. For by so doing we save *the Blood and Property* of Thousands which cannot be saved *To-morrow*. *A Victory* hereafter will have half the Miseries of a *Defeat*: And it were better for every Individual that all should suffer a little, than some be quite ruined and some quite safe. Since the future Support of the whole must (for some time at least) depend on those only; and those who suffer for the whole will have a Right to demand Satisfaction from the rest. 'Tis the *Whole*, our Country, our Property, our Laws, and our Religion are at Stake.

Let

Let us stand up *as one Man* in their Defense: Let *the whole* be the *principal Object* of our Care, and let us, while it is in our Power, secure it beyond *Hazard*. We have nothing to do for that Purpose, but to furnish chearfully and act vigorously, when, and wherever, our King and Country call for us.-- But, above all, and as the only Means to make all our Endeavours effectual, let us put a *Confidence* in *our King*; in this Case his Interest and ours *must* be inseparably united; if *we* have much to lose, *He* has more; *the whole ought* to be the principal *Object* of our Care, *the whole must* be the only *Object* of his. Let us then trust *him* with our Lives and Fortunes; Let us inlist under *his* Banners, pour our Contributions into him who can have no Temptation, no Interest to misapply them. What must be done can only be done by *one united Body* under *one Head*, ready and willing to act, and to submit to such *Discipline*, as the Nature of their Service requires. By these Means *Order* and *good Government* will be establish'd in *our Armies*, *Unity* among our *Soldiers*, and *Loyalty*, *Zeal*, and *publick Spirit*, prevail in every Place alike: Such Conduct will defeat the Designs of our Enemies, by shewing them at one View, the utter Impossibility of conquering *this Brave, this Numerous, this United People*: the *Terror* of our Arms will make them useless; *Rebellion* and *Faction* too will be silenced; and *Peace, Harmony, Riches, and Liberty*, Civil and Religious Liberty, be forever hereafter the happy *Characteristicks* of *Great Britain*.

F I N I S.

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